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ABSTRACT

To examine Chinese journalists' opinions on a variety of global communication issues, a study interviewed 38 newspaper and broadcast journalists in Beijing, China, as well as advanced journalism students preparing for careers with "China Daily" or "Xinhua." Analysis used William Stephenson's Q-methodology, an analytic technique that correlates and factors responses of individuals for the purpose of identifying patterns of opinion about a specified universe. Global issues were taken from the MacBride Report (published in 1980 as "Many Voices, One World"), and consisted of a set of 60 statements or recommendations grouped into the following categories: (1) strengthening independence and self-reliance; (2) social consequences and new tasks; (3) professional integrity and standards; (4) democratization of communication; and (5) fostering international cooperation. Three factors emerged from the study, representing essentially three different orientations to global communication issues: "liberalists," who favor democratization and independent journalism; "internationalists," who stress the role of professional communicators in achieving regional and global cooperation; and "developmentalists," who see communication systems contributing to nation building and are not averse to internal controls. All groups are also "integrationists," interested in strengthening the nation. Findings also indicated that the perceptions of Chinese journalists toward major issues of international communication are not necessarily consistent with the official viewpoints of the Chinese government. (Two tables of data and 25 references are attached.) (MM)

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A Q-STUDY OF GLOBAL COMMUNICATION ISSUES AS PERCEIVED BY CHINESE JOURNALISTS

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A Q-STUDY OF GLOBAL COMMUNICATION ISSUES AS PERCEIVED BY CHINESE JOURNALISTS

Our purpose in this study--data for which were gathered in 1986-87--was to learn what Chinese journalists think about a variety of global communication issues. The journalists themselves have not been studied much in a nation where change has been rampant for a decade and where such institutions as journalism have been targets for change. Until recent years, the media, journalists included, served exclusively as conduits for official Party and government information. With the impact of economic reforms and the open-door policy, journalists increasingly have been emboldened to express views challenging the official line. The global communication issues, on the other hand, have been debated for more than a decade and have become highly controversial and ideologically partisan.

Theoretical Formulation

China

This study would not have been possible 10 years ago when China spun a cocoon around itself. The nation, established as the People's Republic of China in 1949, did not open its doors to the outside world until late 1978 when the Chinese Communist Party decided to shift the focus from class struggle to economic reconstruction.

China's openness is both a result and stimulant of its reform campaign which has been highlighted by three themes:

(1) rural economic reform characterized by emergence of various forms of responsibility contract systems; (2) urban economic reform, in full swing since 1984, with a focus on developing different patterns of ownership, separating ownership from managerial authority and creating incentives and reward; and (3) political reform instituted in 1987 to deal with concentration of power, stifling bureaucracy and so-called "feudal" influences. Although Deng Xiaoping has emphasized time and again: "Without reform of the political structure, reform of the economic structure cannot succeed in the end" (Zhao, XV), the pace of the political reform is slow and difficult.

In the global political arena, China has been active more than ever before with greater participation in international affairs. Among other things, China has voiced its strong support for the establishment of a new international economic order (NIEO) and a new world information and communication order (NWICO).

Given China's progressive openness, questions arise as to what role China will play in international affairs. One entry point that might provide insight is provided by the debate over NWICO. The concept of NWICO is complex and contradictory. The decade-long debate over NWICO seems to have leaned toward gross generalizations, usually political or ideological or both, or specific details, such as rights of journalists and access to information. This study attempts to fill a gap between these two extreme approaches by identifying patterns of thinking about

important global communication issues. Results might facilitate subsequent debates among nations.

NWICO

A number of scholars has studied NWICO from different perspectives (Altschull; Hachten; Legum and Cornwell; Mowlana; Nordenstreng; Righter, 1978; Stevenson; Stevenson and Shaw). In general, NWICO challenges Western dominance in global information flow. Paralleling the new economic order, NWICO calls for a more equitable distribution of communication resources between the advanced nations and the Third World (Stevenson & Shaw, 5) and tries to "bring the developing nations into the global information-sharing picture as partners rather than as helpless consumers" (Merrill, 51). Since its appearance in 1976, NWICO has become highly controversial. One major reason is that the notion of and the debate over NWICO have been heavily loaded with political ideologies which in many ways have obscured discussion of other issues.

Much of the debate over NWICO has been conducted under the auspices of UNESCO and the non-aligned countries. The debate came to a climax at the 1980 Belgrade UNESCO General Conference at which both the MacBride Report and the International Program for the Development of Communication (IPDC) were passed and adopted by consensus. Since 1976 the debate has ebbed and flowed. Terrar comments, "NWICO culminates not only 36 years of U.N. work for peace and justice, but some 400 years of jurisprudential development" (13).

In general, the debate has been represented by the vast

developing countries on one side and by the Western developed nations headed by the United States on the other. Its focus has been on issues along these three lines: What is the existing global information and communication order? What are the factors and causes leading to that order? What should be done to redress the situation and establish a new international information and communication order?

Despite the intensity of the debate, no substantial changes have taken place to break the existing order. Since 1980, the debate began to subside, partly because of divergent interests and objectives among proponents of NWICO, but mainly because of strong opposition from Western industrialized countries. Criticizing UNESCO as being highly politicized, the Western developed countries, led by the United States, strongly insist on the principle of free information flow and oppose governmental interference, censorship, licensing of foreign correspondents and formulation of journalists' codes of ethics at the global level. NWICO would establish governmental standards for "truly objective news selection" and set up a system for licensing of journalists, noted William Small of NBC News, who continued, "That is not in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations, nor is it in keeping with the role of a free press as we in the United States accept and perceive it" (Merrill, 56). In 1985, the United States withdrew from UNESCO, soon followed by England and Singapore.

Research Questions

As China keeps opening its door, Chinese journalists are no

longer isolated from the outside world. They have wide access to foreign information and broad contact with foreigners. Many of the journalists are keenly interested in issues concerning global communication. They are also being allowed more freedom to voice their personal opinions on many domestic and foreign issues (Starck and Yu, Polumbaum, 1988).

This study posed two questions: What are Chinese journalists' attitudes toward important issues involving global communication? What major patterns of opinion, if any, can be identified in the on-going debate over various global communication issues? To explore these questions, we used the MacBride Commission's recommendations to represent the spectrum of opinions and issues in global communication. These recommendations encompass a comprehensive set of contemporary issues that have figured prominently in international discourse about communication in the world.

Method

Stephenson's Q

The method we employed was Stephenson's Q-methodology. Q is an analytic technique that correlates and factors responses of individuals for the purpose of identifying patterns of opinion about a specified universe of discourse. The method is often associated with William Stephenson who contributed significantly to Q's development and application. According to Stephenson, Q-methodology "provides a systematic way to handle a person's retrospections, his reflections about himself and others, his

introjections and projections, and much else of an apparent subjective nature" (86). Proponents of Q-methodology have pointed to the particular merits of the method in studying attitudes and perceptions of individuals or groups of people (MacLean, 616-617), though the method is not without controversy (Kerlinger).

The basic assumption of Q-methodology is that the subject matter of the social sciences differs in nature from that of the natural sciences. Thus, different methods must be employed. By placing subjectivity at the center, Q-methodology further assumes that personal feelings and reflections are fundamental to subjectivity and that the self-referenced statements of feelings involve the genuine self.

Q-methodology permits exploration of personal opinions and feelings about certain issues. The method can tell the extent to which a person's assessment of a given item deviates from the mean of all other items for that person. In Q, the emphasis goes to: How do people order items? How similar or dissimilar do people order the items? And how can people be factored into significant clusters with regards to their similar or dissimilar ordering? Thus, Q strikes a sharp contrast from traditional R analysis which is interested in correlating and factoring items.

MacBride Report

The MacBride Report, published as Many Voices, One World in 1980 (referred to in this study as the MacBride Report), represented an important document in the history of NWICO and in international communication. Dealing with the global

communication problems and issues from a broad political, social, economic and cultural perspective, the Report outlined the main configuration for NWICO and stimulated world-wide discussion. The Report offered an agenda for a more balanced world information flow and the use of communication in national development.

The formal impetus for the Report came in Nairobi in 1976 when the 19th session of the General Conference of UNESCO authorized formation of an international commission headed by Sean MacBride to study the totality of communication problems in the world. The membership of the Commission may have reflected an ideological bias with only 6 out of 16 members reflecting the Western press philosophy (Merrill, 57). The main task of the commission, as specified in Resolution 100, was:

> to analyze communication problems, in their different aspects, within the perspective of the establishment of a new international economic order and of measures to be taken to foster the institution of a new world information order; and secondly, to define the role which communication might play in making public opinion aware of the major problems besetting the world, in sensitizing it to these problems and helping gradually to solve them by concerted action at the national and international levels. (Pavlic & Hamelink, 18).

Two years later, at the 20th UNESCO General Conference, the MacBride Commission submitted its interim report on the global communication problems. The report pointed out that "free flow between the strong and the weak, the haves and the have-nots cannot fail to have pernicious consequences for the latter" (Richstad & Anderson, 39). Although sharply criticized from both the West and East, the interim report "highlights major

communication problems and challenges facing humankind as a whole" (Richstad & Anderson, 36).

In its final report, issued in 1980, the MacBride Commission put forward 82 recommendations, of which 72 were unanimously adopted. "In the disputed areas, Western countries objected to the anti-commercial bias of the commission, the Soviet bloc countries to the abolition of government controls, and Third World countries demanded a more balanced flow" (Mehra, 42).

Despite continuing controversy on specific points, the MacBride Report did yield a general consensus. The consensus, of course, involved many compromises, especially among developed and developing nations. As an important landmark in the NWICO debate, the MacBride Report has won wide support from the majority of Third World and socialist countries. Ming Anxiang, a Chinese journalism researcher, has written:

> The Final Report is an intellectual illustration of mankind facing the serious and urgent challenges of communication and information in the context of an "information explosion." It is the crystallization of human wisdom on the problem of communication and information, although a few ideas, analyses and points of view in the Final Report could and should be taken deeper and made more accurate (7).

The MacBride Report also had strong repercussions in the West. Some welcomed it with caution, while others openly attacked it as a violation of the principle of "free flow of information." "The work of the MacBride Commission," noted Richstad and Anderson, "has been seminal in clarifying major world communication problems and issues and documenting various growing Third World nations' concerns over their dependence in matters of

communication, especially news" (404). But Righter, an English journalist, charged the MacBride Report provided "ample excuses to those who wished to strengthen the bureaucratic and political controls over news flows" (1981:74).

Research Procedures

The MacBride Report provided us with, in Q terminology, our universe of discourse. Specifically, our global communication issues came from the set of recommendations enumerated at the conclusion of Many Voices, One World. A pre-test of all statements, or recommendations--there were 82--was conducted among American and foreign journalism and mass communication graduate students. The pre-test helped us to eliminate overlapping and duplication of content. We also debriefed respondents about such considerations as language of the statements, clarity and ambiguity. After two rounds of pre-testing, we reduced the number of statements to 60. Some of those, in turn, were slightly edited to facilitate understanding.

We retained the MacBride Commission's grouping of the recommendations into five major topic categories. The topic categories with the number of statements we used in each was:

I. Strengthening Independence and Self-Reliance--20.

II. Social Consequences and New Tasks--12.

III. Professional Integrity and Standards--10.

IV. Democratization of Communication--9.

V. Fostering International Cooperation--9.

The MacBride Report further subdivided these topics into subcategories. These groupings and subgroupings represent major

themes and subthemes about global communication issues. The groupings also facilitated our interpretation of results. The five major categories with the subcategories are reflected in Table 1.

While still in the United States, we translated into Chinese all 60 statements, as well a set of instructions and a brief demographic questionnaire. Once in China, we pre-tested the instruments on Chinese respondents. A few modifications in language again were made.

Data Gathering and Respondents

Subjects were selected in Beijing, the capital of China. With the help of the press research unit of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and other journalists, we interviewed 40 respondents. They were asked to sort the statements into 11 piles. The piles represented a continuum on the basis of "most agree" to "most disagree" with a requisite number of statements to be placed in each file as follows:

+2	+3	+5	+7	+8	10	-8	-7	-5	-3	-2
Most Agree										Most Disagree

Respondents consisted of newspaper and broadcast journalists as well as advanced journalism students preparing for careers with China Daily or Xinhua. All were Chinese citizens. Two response forms were not complete; thus, the final Q-analysis consisted of 38 respondents. Most of our respondents--28--were male. Most were print oriented, either working for newspapers or preparing for newspaper careers; four worked as broadcast

journalists. Thirteen had worked four or more years as journalists, while most--25--had worked three years or less. A total of 30 held bachelor's degrees, including six who also had graduate degrees. Nearly three-fourths--28--had majored in journalism. Most--63 %--were 34 years of age or younger.

Two parenthetical notes are worth mentioning: First, our fieldwork was carried out during the first four months of 1987, a period when national anxieties were rising in China. Repercussions from widespread student demonstrations during 1986-87 were being felt strongly. Also, the removal of Hu Yaobang from the position of first secretary of the Communist Party heralded another campaign against "bourgeois liberalization." As a consequence, several journalists (other than the 40) declined to participate in the study. Second, the research method was strange to the Chinese respondents. Several, though complying with instructions, expressed criticisms of the method. One respondent commented, "Because of the forced distribution in Q-sorting, a number of statements I agree with have to be placed along the line of disagreement." Such a response, however, is not uncommon in Q-studies.

Results

We used the QUANAL computer program for factor analysis. Two-factor, three-factor and four-factor solutions were all tried and compared. The three-factor solution was adopted and identified because it best reflected the variance accounted for. (The re-ordered factor matrix appears in Table 2.) The

three-factor solution accounted for a total variance of 0.4197. Factor I accounted for most of the variance: 0.2051; while Factor II and Factor III accounted for 0.1354 and 0.0791 respectively.

We found a correlation between Factors I and II of 0.544, suggesting a rather high relationship between the two factors. Here are the correlations among the three types:

	Factor II	Factor III
Factor I	0.544	0.386
Factor II	-----	0.374

A complete summary of the three factors and the z scores appears in Table 1. We were especially concerned with how the three factors agreed or disagreed with one another.

Areas of Agreement

The three factors exhibited consensus on 17 (28.3 %) of the 60 statements. (The criterion for consensus was a differentiation among the z scores of less than 1.0.) Consensus statements were numbers 49, 60, 59, 5, 30, 20, 55, 31, 29, 7, 16, 24, 56, 57, 40, 23, and 28 in the order of diminishing average z scores. (Numbers identifying the 60 statements are the same here as in Table 1.) Most statements fell into the category Social Consequences and New Tasks and, to a lesser degree, categories of Fostering International Cooperation and Strengthening Independence and Self-Reliance. The areas of agreement suggest that all the respondents have a strong nationalist orientation.

The statement with which all three factors agreed with strongest was the increased use of mass media to help integrate people into the community rather than isolating them from one

another (49). All three factors strongly disagreed with expanding communication systems by giving preference to non-commercial forms of mass communication (28). All groups also disagreed strongly with setting up national mechanisms to promote discussion of priorities in the acquisition of new communication technologies (23).

All factors strongly agreed on the need for news media to cover situations of crisis and tension objectively and sensitively (60), the need for countries to correlate developmental policies (30), and the need for journalists and media to cooperate to improve cross-cultural understanding (59). All three factors disagreed somewhat strongly on the need to equip the United Nations with expanded electronic communication capability (57) and the need for developing nations to give more media attention to the efforts of other developing nations (56). In addition, the three factors mildly agreed on improvement of postal services and other essential communication elements (5) and the need to more equitably share communication resources (20).

Description of Each Factor

Factor 1 most agreed with statements dealing with democratization of communication, professional integrity and standards, and greater public participation by various sectors of society in the nation's development. This factor favored promotion of human rights and removal of communication obstacles (43, 44, 45, 46). The factor also favored more independence for journalists (42), higher standards of performance (34),

facilitating the work of foreign correspondents (37) and broader public participation in national development (21, 26).

The issues Factor 1 least agreed with involved the general category of Strengthening Independence and Self-Reliance. For instance, this factor did not feel the need for national or regional news agencies (6). It also did not agree that there was a need for special funding for the national development of communication (17) or a need for guidelines for advertising (27).

Factor II focused on professional issues, agreeing most with those statements dealing with educational (33) and cultural (39) preparation of journalists, the need for higher professional standards (34) and journalists' independence and integrity (42). In general, this factor favored establishment of NWICO (52) and cooperation among news agencies (54).

Statements Factor II least agreed with involved the category Strengthening of National Independence and Self-Reliance (for example, 4, 17, 19, 18). The statement Factor II disagreed with most was the desirability of national codes of ethics developed by professional journalists without governmental interference (36). Factor II also disagreed with the statement that journalists from industrialized nations should devote more attention to other countries, including the developing world (40).

Factor III devoted considerable attention to issues concerning Strengthening Independence and Self-Reliance. It favored expansion of information sources (45) and clearly stated developmental issues and goals (22) to encourage public

participation in decision-making (21). The statement Factor III agreed with most was the need for the educational system to prepare young people to use and evaluate mass media (14). Factor III also favored higher journalistic standards (34), adequate cultural preparation for foreign correspondents (39) and more use of the media in fostering social cohesion (49) and promoting international understanding (60).

Factor III disagreed with the idea of a close relationship between a new international economic order and a new information/communication order (53) and the statement that controls on information should be abolished (46).

Comparison of Each Factor to Each Other Factor

Factors I and II: Although Factors I and II expressed similar themes, their emphasis was different. Factor I believed strongly that censorship or control of information should be abolished (46), while Factor II mildly disagreed. Both disagreed that professionally-derived codes of ethics are desirable (36), though Factor II disagreed much more strongly than did Factor I. Opposite positions were taken by the two groups on the need for national or regional news agencies (6); Factor I strongly agreed that there was such a need, while Factor II strongly disagreed. Factor I and Factor II were also differentiated in statements asserting the right of individuals (44), the need for public participation in decision-making (45) and the creation of an active audience (50). Both factors agreed with the desirability of such goals, but in all instances Factor I felt much more strongly than did Factor II.

Factors I and III: Most statements differentiating Factors I and III came in the category of Strengthening Independence and Self-Reliance. Of 20 statements in this category, 10 differentiated the two factors. The statements on which the two factors disagreed the most were the abolition of information controls (46) and education in the area for youngsters (14). Factor III strongly disagreed with the suggestion to abolish controls, while Factor I strongly agreed. Factor III strongly favored communication education for youngsters, while Factor I mildly disagreed. Factors I and III both disagreed strongly that a primary goal of a communication policy should be to eliminate illiteracy (4), though Factor III held the view more strongly. Also, the two factors favored consultation of policy-makers with various social sectors (21), but with Factor I expressing the view more strongly.

In addition, Factor III favored adequate training facilities for media personnel (10), broadcast independence (9) and the national development of radio over television (8), while in all instances Factor I expressed disagreement. Also, Factor I opposed the suggestion to develop the community press in rural areas (12), while Factor III was in favor.

Factors II and III: The two statements most sharply differentiating Factors II and III involved news agencies and education. Factor III disagreed over the need for strong national or regional news agencies (6), while Factor II favored such a need. Factor III also felt strongly that educational systems

should prepare youngsters for communication activities (14), while Factor II mildly disagreed.

Eleven statements in the category of Strengthening Independence and Self-Reliance differentiated Factors II and III. For instance, Factor II favored development of comprehensive national communication policies (1), while Factor III disagreed. Both factors favored professional independence and integrity (42) as well as general and professional preparation for journalists (33), with Factor II in both instances supporting these notions more strongly than did Factor III. In terms of Social Consequences and New Tasks, Factor II favored while Factor III opposed policies fostering cultural identity and artistic creativity (26) and measures to counteract the concentration of communication technology in a few developed nations (25).

Each Factor in Relation to the Other Two Factors

Factor I differed from the other two factors primarily in regard to Democratization of Communication. This factor felt very strongly that censorship or arbitrary control of information should be abolished (46), while the other two factors disagreed. This factor also rated significantly higher than did the other two factors on statements calling for democracies to establish a right to communication (44) and to adopt policies expanding public participation in decision-making by enlarging information sources for citizens (45). Factor I also felt much more strongly than did the other factors that a nation's decision-makers should involve its different social sectors in policy-making (21). Factor I also felt much less strongly than did the other two

factors about the need for the preparation of journalists assigned to foreign posts (39). In addition, Factor I disagreed more strongly than did the other two factors with the need to organize listening and viewing groups (15) and to set guidelines for advertising (27).

Factor II generally felt more strongly than did the other two factors about regional and international cooperation. For example, this factor favored strong national or regional news agencies (6), while the others disagreed. This factor also favored national and international measures that would foster establishment of a new world information and communication order (52) and that would counteract concentration of communication technology in a few nations or corporations (25). The other factors disagreed. Factor II also agreed more than did the other factors with the call for cooperation in the field of communication among developing nations (54). In addition, Factor II agreed much more strongly than did the other two factors in the need to professionalize journalists through education and training (33). Factor II opposed steps that might impose limits on journalists. For example, this factor disagreed more strongly than did the other factors with the suggestion for professionally-prepared journalistic codes of ethics (36). This group also disagreed with suggestions for establishment of such devices as media councils or ombudsmen to hold journalists accountable (35) and the elimination of tariffs or rate structures impeding the flow of information (19). In both instances, the other factors favored the suggestions.

Differentiating Factor III from the other factors were five statements in the category of Strengthening Independence and Self-Reliance. Factor III felt much more strongly than did the other two factors about the need to educate young people about communication activities (14), to promote communication policies by using symbols and language that most people understand (22), to give priority to radio over television in reaching remote areas (8) and to develop the community press in rural areas (12). In addition, Factor III agreed much more strongly than did the other factors with the need to provide educational and training facilities to prepare media personnel (10). This factor agreed with the need for guidelines to deal with advertising content (27), while the other two factors disagreed. This factor also disagreed more than did the other factors with the need for research to increase the paper supply (18).

Factor III disagreed while the other factors agreed with suggestions that would give more attention to the communication needs of ethnic and other minority groups (48) and that would establish national policies fostering cultural identity and artistic creativity (26). This factor also agreed much less than did the other factors with the need to safeguard professional independence and integrity of journalists (42). This factor disagreed with the suggestion to take steps to assure access by foreign correspondents (37), while the other factors agreed. In addition, Factor III disagreed much more strongly than did the other two factors with the statement that there was a close relationship between establishment of a new economic order and a

new world information and communication order (53).

Summary of Opinion Patterns

Results reveal that the three factors represent essentially three different orientations to global communication issues. Tentatively, Factor I might be labelled "liberalist orientation;" Factor II, "internationalist orientation;" and Factor III, "developmentalist orientation." The "liberalists" appear to favor democratization and independent journalism, suggesting a role for the media that is informationally pluralistic as compared to monolithic government control. The "internationalists" stress the role of professional communicators in striving toward regional and global cooperation. The "developmentalists" see the role of communication systems as contributing to the process of nation building and are not averse to internal controls on the media if deemed necessary. Underlying all three factors is a common subtheme which suggests strongly that all factors are also "integrationists," that is, interested in unifying and strengthening the nation. These prototypes, it should be emphasized, represent gross characterizations.

Half of the respondents (19) appeared in Factor I; 13, in Factor II; and 6, in Factor III. The nature of the Q-method does not permit generalizing to a larger sample of people when the respondents constitute a purposive sample, as they did in this study. Nonetheless, we examined our several demographic characteristics of respondents in each factor and found that age was the only characteristic that differentiated the respondents in each factor. Of the 19 persons in Factor I, 37 % (7) were 34

or younger; while for Factor II, 85 % (11) were 34 or younger. In Factor III, all six respondents were in the 34 or younger age bracket. The meaning of this is not clear, since it seems to contradict speculation and some evidence (Polumbaum, 1989) that younger journalists would be expected to endorse more liberal tendencies.

Discussion

This study has shown that journalists in China have different perceptions of many issues on global communication although they do agree upon other issues. Findings show that the perceptions of Chinese journalists toward major issues of international communication are not necessarily consistent with the official viewpoints of the Chinese government. As a matter of fact, the views expressed by the "liberalists" might be said to run counter to government views. Thus, the assertion that Chinese journalists are merely parrots of the Communist Party's voice must be challenged and reassessed. Though little data exist for comparison purposes, this would seem to be a change resulting from China's economic reform and open-door policy, which increasingly have influenced Chinese thinking and institutions (Cheek; Polumbaum, 1989; Starck and Yu).

Of further research interest would be: To what extent is the professional behavior of journalists related to their opinions about global communication issues? That is, do such convictions or views about international news cooperation or the role of the press influence such newsroom activities as news selection,

writing and editing? These important questions were beyond the scope of this inquiry.

The study also suggests that Q-method is a useful analytical tool in identifying opinions and attitudes and that the MacBride Commission recommendations can serve as a meaningful universe of discourse. Since Chinese journalists are not of one mind as might have been expected, we believe that it is also possible to apply this method to exploration of press theory in China in the future. In this regard, we might use Q-method to examine significant factors that constitute a particular theoretical orientation to the press and society.

We also believe that this use of Q-technique to explore perceptions of journalists has other possibilities for national cross-comparison. Using the MacBride Report's recommendations as a universe of discourse about global communication issues, we should be able to compare data from different press systems to enhance our understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of global communication issues. Such research might help to focus subsequent debate of global communication issues. Identifying major patterns of opinion about international communication issues could move the level of discourse from the extremes of the overly general or narrowly specific to a medium level where both theory and practice would be joined.

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Table 1

Z SCORES FOR ALL OPINION TYPES OF THE 60 STATEMENTS

NOTES: 1. Roman numerals denote the primary category of topic statements as outlined in the MacBride Commission Report; subcategories are denoted with capital letters.
2. [a] denotes significant agreement within the factor
3. [b] denotes significant disagreement within the factor
4. [c] denotes items significantly greater or less than other factors
5. [d] denotes consensus item among the three factors

No.	Statement	Z Scores for the 3 Factors I (n= 19)	II (n= 13)	III (n= 6)
	I. Strengthening Independence and Self-Reliance			
	A. Communication Policies			
1.	All nations should formulate comprehensive communication policies linked to overall social, cultural, economic and political goals.	0.6	1.1[a]	-0.2
2.	The goal of national communication policies should be to utilize the unique capacities of each form of communication, from interpersonal and traditional to the most modern, to foster the growth of individuals and communities within the wider frame of national development in an interdependent world.	0.0	-0.9	0.8
3.	All languages should be adequately developed to serve the complex and diverse requirements of modern communication.	-1.1[b]	-0.7	0.2
4.	A primary objective of a national communication policy should be to make elementary education available to all and to wipe out illiteracy.	-1.6[b]	-1.7[b]	-2.6[b]
	B. Strengthening Capacities			
5.	Developing nations should take specific measures to establish or develop essential elements of their communication systems, including postal services, print, broadcast media, etc.	0.1[d]	0.2[d]	0.2[d]
6.	Strong national news agencies--including, where appropriate, regional networks--are vital for improving each country's national and international news reporting.	-1.5[b]	1.0[ac]	-1.4[b]

7. National book production, including the stimulation of works by national authors in various languages, should be encouraged and accompanied by the establishment of a distribution network for books, newspapers and periodicals.	-0.4[d]	-0.2[d]	-0.6[d]
8. In developing nations, the building of comprehensive national radio networks capable of reaching remote areas should take priority over development of television, which ought to be encouraged only where appropriate.	-1.1[b]	-0.9	0.4[c]
9. National capacity for producing broadcast materials is necessary to offset dependence on external sources over and beyond desirable program exchange.	-1.0	-0.2	0.1
10. Adequate educational and training facilities are necessary to supply personnel for the media and production organizations, including managers, technicians and maintenance personnel.	-0.4	0.5	1.7[ac]
C. Basic Needs			
11. Adequate financing should be devoted to the communication component in development projects involving agriculture, health and family planning, education, religion, industry, etc.	-0.6	0.4	-0.7
12. The development of the community press in rural areas and small towns would provide print support for economic and social activities as well as promote literacy.	-0.2	-0.1	1.0[ac]
13. The educational and informational use of of communication should be given equal priority with entertainment.	0.0	-0.6	-1.6[b]
14. Educational systems should prepare young people for communication activities by introducing them at primary and secondary levels to the forms and uses of the means of communication, such as how to read newspapers, evaluate broadcast programs, etc.	-0.1	-0.0	2.4[ac]
15. Organization of community listening and viewing groups could in certain circumstances widen both entertainment and educational opportunities.	-1.4[bc]	-0.3	-0.4

16. Where possible, activities that accentuate communication should be grouped to create local communication resource centers for entertainment, education, information dissemination and cultural exchange.	-0.5[d]	-0.2[d]	-0.5[d]
17. Special sources of investment finance--such as differential communication policies that would place larger burdens on more prosperous urban and elite groups, to mention one possible example--should be identified to provide funding support for communication in national development.	-1.3[b]	-1.6[b]	-0.6
18. A major international research and development effort should be undertaken to increase the supply of paper.	-1.5[b]	-1.2[b]	-0.2[c]
19. Efforts should be made to eliminate or reduce tariffs and rate structures that serve as obstacles in the free and balanced flow of news, including the transport of newspapers, periodicals, books and audiovisual material.	0.4	-1.4[bc]	0.2
20. Natural resources that are finite and limit broadcasting capabilities--such as the electromagnetic spectrum and geostationary orbit--should be more equitably shared as the common property of mankind.	0.2[d]	-0.0[d]	0.2[d]
II. Social Consequences and New Tasks			
A. Integrating Communication into Development			
21. A central component of both communication and development policies should be widespread dialogue involving a nation's decision-makers and its different social sectors.	2.3[ac]	1.0	1.3[a]
22. In promoting communication policies, special attention should be given to the use of non-technical language and comprehensible symbols, images and forms to ensure popular understanding of development issues and goals.	-0.3	-0.7	1.6[ac]
B. Facing the Challenge			
23. National mechanisms--such as technological impact surveys--should be set up to promote participation and discussion of social priorities in the acquisition or extension of new communication technologies.	-0.8[d]	-0.9[d]	-1.3[db]

24. In developing countries, autonomous research about and development of technology should be promoted and linked to specific national and regional projects dealing with the satisfaction of basic needs.	-0.6[d]	-0.5[d]	-0.4[d]
25. National and international measures--such as agreements and reform of existing patent laws and conventions--should be taken to counteract the concentration of communications technology in a relatively few developed countries and transnational corporations.	-0.4	0.8[c]	-0.6
C. Strengthening Cultural Identity			
26. National policies should foster cultural identity and artistic creativity and enable various grassroots groups to be heard through the media.	1.3[a]	1.0	-0.6[c]
27. Guidelines dealing with advertising content and the values and attitudes advertising fosters should be developed in accordance with national standards and practice.	-1.6[bc]	-0.6	0.5[c]
D. Reducing the Commercialization of Communication			
28. In expanding communication systems, preference should be given to non-commercial forms of mass communication, for example, media supported through public funding.	-0.9[d]	-1.0[d]	-1.6[db]
29. While acknowledging the need of the media for revenues, ways and means should be considered to reduce the effects that the influence of market and commercial considerations have in the organization and content of national and international communication flows.	-0.1[d]	-0.5[d]	-0.2[d]
E. Access to Technical Information			
30. Developing countries should pay particular attention to correlating education, scientific and communication policies and making sure technical skills and equipment are available to handle essential data processing activities.	0.0[d]	0.0[d]	0.4[d]
31. Developed countries should foster exchanges of technical information on the principle that all countries have equal rights to full access to available information.	0.1[d]	-0.0[d]	-0.3[d]

32. Transnational corporations should supply to the authorities of the countries in which they operate, upon request and on a regular basis as specified by local laws and regulations, all information required for legislative and administrative purposes relevant to their activities and specifically needed to assess the performance of such entities.	-0.6	-1.6[b]	-1.7[b]
III. Professional Integrity and Standards			
A. Responsibility of Journalists			
33. To be treated as professionals, journalists require broad educational preparation and specific professional training.	0.5	2.4[ac]	0.7
34. News media and journalists' organizations should help in fostering among journalists higher standards of professionalism, responsibility and respect for truthfulness, accuracy and human rights.	1.1[a]	2.1[a]	2.2[a]
35. As in other professions, journalists and media organizations serve the public directly; as a result, the public, through such devices as media councils or ombudsmen, should be entitled to hold journalists accountable for their actions.	0.7	-0.3[c]	0.7
36. The adoption of codes of ethics at national and, in some cases, at the regional level is desirable, provided that such codes are prepared and adopted by the profession itself--without governmental interference.	-0.4	-2.4[bc]	-0.1
B. Towards Improved International Reporting			
37. All countries should take steps to assure admittance of foreign correspondents and facilitate the collection and transmission of news by the correspondents.	1.0[a]	0.8	-0.4[c]
38. Conventional standards of news selection and reporting, and many accepted news values, need to be re-assessed if readers and listeners around the world are to receive a more faithful and comprehensive account of events, movements and trends in both developing and developed countries.	-0.8	-0.0	0.6
39. Reporters being assigned to foreign posts should have the benefit of language training and acquaintance with the history, institutions, politics, economics and cultural environment of the country or region in which they will be serving.	0.3[c]	2.1[a]	1.7[a]

40. The press and broadcasters in the industrialized world should allot more space and time to reporting events in and background material about foreign countries in general and news from the developing world in particular.	-0.6[d]	-1.6[db]	-0.7[d]
41. To offset the negative effects of inaccurate or malicious reporting of international news, consideration should be given to establishing a right of reply and correction on a voluntary basis.	0.7	-0.3	0.5
C. Protection of Journalists			
42. The professional independence and integrity of all those involved in the collection and dissemination of news, information and views to the public should be safeguarded.	1.7[a]	1.8[a]	0.4[c]
IV. Democratization of Communication			
A. Human Rights			
43. The media should contribute to promoting the just cause of peoples struggling for freedom and independence and their right to live in peace and equality without foreign interference.	1.1[a]	1.0	0.1
44. Communication needs in a democratic society should be met by the establishment of a right to communicate that encompasses such specific rights as the right to be informed, the right to inform, the right to privacy and the right to participate in public communication.	2.2[ac]	0.6	0.1
B. Removal of Obstacles			
45. All countries should adopt measures to expand public participation in the decision-making process by enlarging sources of information needed by citizens.	2.4[ac]	1.3[a]	1.3[a]
46. Censorship or arbitrary control of information should be abolished.	1.8[ac]	-0.4	-1.1[b]
47. In areas where reasonable restrictions in the control of information may be considered necessary, such restrictions should be provided for by law, subject to judicial review and in line with the principles and instruments adopted by the community of nations.	-0.3	-1.1[b]	0.2

C. Diversity and Choice			
48. Attention should be given to the communication needs of such special groups as women, children and youth, the aged and the handicapped, ethnic or religious minorities, etc.	0.4	0.9	-1.0[c]
D. Integration and Participation			
49. More use of the media should be made to help integrate people into the community rather than isolating people form one another.	1.2[da]	0.7[d]	1.5[da]
50. Those in charge of the media should encourage their audiences to play a more active role in communication by allocating more newspaper space, or broadcasting time, for the views of individual members of the public or organized social groups.	1.6[a]	0.5	0.7
51. Communication policy-makers should give far greater importance to devising ways whereby the management of the media could be democratized, at the same time respecting national customs and characteristics.	1.0	0.2	-0.1
V. Fostering International Cooperation			
A. Partners for Development			
52. National and international measures should be taken that would foster progressively the setting up of a new world information and communication order.	-0.3	1.3[ac]	-0.4
53. The close relationship between the establishment of a new international economic order and a new world information and communication order should be carefully considered by those bodies dealing with these issues.	-0.9	-0.4	-2.0[bc]
B. Strengthening Collective Self-Reliance			
54. Joint activities in the field of communication which are under way between developing countries should be developed further, including especially cooperation among national news agencies, development of the News Agencies Pool and exchange on a regular basis of broadcast programming and films.	0.0	1.1[ac]	-0.5

55. Cooperation in the field of technical information, particularly in economic matters of a non-strategic nature, should be given a high priority through the establishment of regional and sub-regional data banks and information processing centers and specialized documentation centers.	0.1[d]	0.0[d]	-0.1[d]
56. Particular efforts should be undertaken to ensure that news about other developing countries within or outside the region receive more attention and space in the media.	-0.9[d]	-0.3[d]	-0.8[d]
C. International Mechanisms			
57. The United Nations as an organization should be equipped with a more effective information system, including a broadcast capability of its own and possibly access to a satellite system.	-1.4[db]	-0.4[d]	-0.5[d]
D. Towards International Understanding			
58. National communication policies should be consistent with adopted international communication principles and should seek to create a climate of mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence among nations.	-0.3	-0.9	0.5
59. All forms of cooperation among the media, the professionals and their associations, which contribute to the better knowledge of other nations and cultures, should be encouraged and promoted.	0.3[d]	0.5[d]	0.1[d]
60. In reporting on international events or developments in individual countries during situations of crisis and tension, news media should seek to carry out this special communication role with objectivity and sensitivity.	0.7[d]	0.6[d]	1.1[da]

Table 2

RE-ORDERED FACTOR MATRIX

Respondent	I	II	III	Communality	Purity Index
Factor 1					
A	.748	-.012	.048	.562	.996
B	.584	.076	.054	.350	.975
C	.698	.119	.111	.514	.949
D	.711	.159	-.121	.545	.927
E	.785	-.179	.147	.669	.920
F	.664	.227	.011	.492	.895
G	,694	.013	.248	.543	.887
H	.546	.213	.013	.343	.868
I	.695	.237	.189	.574	.840
J	.620	.251	.103	.458	.840
K	.523	.230	.009	.326	.838
L	.752	.371	.103	.714	.792
M	.496	.125	.268	.333	.738
N	.337	.221	-.002	.162	.699
O	.208	.077	.168	.078	.559
P	.495	.399	.282	.483	.507
Q	.500	.479	-.125	.495	.505
R	.270	.109	.260	.152	.477
Factor 2					
S	-.022	.529	.194	.317	.880
T	.048	.625	.294	.480	.815
U	-.109	529	.254	.356	.786
V	.235	.693	.286	.617	.778
W	.331	.620	.041	.496	.776
X	.306	.682	-.214	.604	.769
Y	.280	.637	.224	.534	.759
Z	-.033	.351	.213	.169	.726
a	.122	.397	.214	.218	.723
b	.226	.557	-.357	.488	.635
c	.388	.476	-.023	.378	.599
d	.352	.494	-.205	.410	.595
e	.461	.484	.024	.447	.524
Factor 3					
f	.028	.039	.688	.476	.995
g	.048	.270	.665	.517	.854
h	.248	.031	.503	.315	.802
i	.236	.055	-.390	.210	.722
j	.151	.198	.305	.155	.600
k	.458	.145	.555	.539	.572
l	.362	.270	.471	.425	.522

(a b s t r a c t)

A Q-STUDY OF GLOBAL COMMUNICATION ISSUES AS PERCEIVED BY CHINESE JOURNALISTS

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This study--data for which were collected in 1986-87 in China--posed two questions: What are Chinese journalists' attitudes toward issues involving global communication? What major patterns of opinion exist in the debate over the new world information order? The primary purpose was to learn what Chinese journalists think about global communication issues. The journalists themselves have not been studied much in a nation where change has been rampant. The global communication issues, on the other hand, have been debated for more than a decade and have become controversial and ideologically partisan.

Stephenson's Q method was used. A modification of the MacBride Commission's recommendations represented the universe of discourse of global communication issues. Respondents were 38 broadcast and print journalists in Beijing.

Three opinion patterns emerged, accounting for total variance of 0.4197. Factors represented three different orientations. Though representing gross characterizations, these prototypes were labeled tentatively (1) "liberalists," who favor democratization and independent journalism; (2) "internationalists," who stress the role of professional communicators in achieving regional and global cooperation; and (3) "developmentalists," who see communication systems contributing to nation building and are not averse to internal controls. All groups also are "integrationists," that is, interested in strengthening the nation.

Two major conclusions emerged: Contemporary Chinese journalists have differing views about communication, views not necessarily consistent with those of the government. Q offers possibilities to enhance understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of global communication issues by exploring perceptions of journalists from different press systems. Such findings might focus subsequent debate of global communication issues.

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